

# How progressives progress

## The case of Dutch and Afrikaans

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# Introduction

## Empirical focus

- ▶ Dutch and Afrikaans periphrastic progressives with a **motion/posture** verb as aspectual marker

- (1) Ik **loop/zit/sta/lig** te werken.  
I walk/sit/stand/lie to work  
'I'm working.' (Dutch)
- (2) Ek **loop/sit/staan/lê** en werk.  
I walk/sit/stand/lie and work  
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→In Dutch: 'motion/posture verb te V'

→In Afrikaans: pseudocoordination, i.e. 'motion/posture verb and V'

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  - ▶ Presence/absence of *te/en*
- ▶ Presenting a unified analysis of these MPPs
  - ▶ Proposing and formalising a grammaticalisation path for these MPPs, from which the attested variation follows

# Outline

Introduction

Background: periphrastic progressives in Germanic

The data

Corpora

The data: morphological form of the progressive verb

The data: presence/absence of te/en

Prerequisites for the analysis

The morphological status of ge-

The semi-lexicity of Dutch/Afrikaans progressive verbs

What it means to be semi-lexical

The analysis

Grammaticalisation path for MPPs

Afrikaans MPPs

Dutch MPPs

The emergence of the (M)PP in Frisian

Parallels in the nominal domain

Conclusion and outlook

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	DU	AF	FRI	EN	GE	Mn. Sc.	Ins. Sc.
POSTURE VERBS IN MPP	V	V	V	X	X	V	V
'WALK' IN MPP	V	V	X	X	X	X	X
PSEUDOCOORDINATION	X	V	X	X	X	V	V
TO-COORDINATION	V	X	V	X	X	X/?	X
INDEP. PROG. INTERPRETATION	V	V/X	X	X	X	X	X

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Table 1: Periphrastic progressives in Germanic

- ▶ In English, pseudocoordination is restricted to the lexical items 'try', 'come' and 'go' (Carden & Pesetsky 1978)
- ▶ In varieties of Danish and Norwegian, the linking element in MPP-like structures is ambiguous between 'to' and 'and' (Wiklund 2007)



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  - ▶ The only two Germanic languages in which motion verb **WALK** is used in MPPs
  - ▶ The only two Germanic languages in which these structures can have independent progressive interpretations
  - ▶ Dutch is the only language that combines the two verbs in the MPPs with *te* 'to' (instead of pseudocoordination, but see Frisian later this talk)
- ▶ So far, a unified formal analysis of the structure of Dutch and Afrikaans MPPs has not been proposed yet

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## Dutch

- ▶ Corpus based research: *SoNaR+*
  - ▶ Two subcorpora: *SoNaR-500* (500 mil. words) & *Corpus Gesproken Nederlands* (9 mil. words)
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  - ▶ Printed and electronic text; spoken Dutch/Flemish
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  - ▶ Embedded under the temporal auxiliary *hebben* 'have', to investigate the morphological form of the progressive verb

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  - ▶ Embedded under the temporal auxiliary *het* 'have', to investigate the morphological form of the progressive verb

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- ▶ Temporal auxiliary *hebben/het* 'have' normally selects a past participle
- ▶ In Dutch MPPs, the **motion/posture** verb always has to appear as an infinitive (=IPP-form), and can never appear as past participle (Schmid 2005)



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- ▶ *Focus 1*: morphological form of the **motion/posture** verb in MPPs when embedded under temporal auxiliary *hebben/het* 'have'
- ▶ Temporal auxiliary *hebben/het* 'have' normally selects a past participle
- ▶ In Dutch MPPs, the **motion/posture** verb always has to appear as an infinitive (=IPP-form), and can never appear as past participle (Schmid 2005)
- ▶ In Afrikaans MPPs, the **motion/posture** verb can either appear in IPP-form or as past participle (De Vos 2005; Schmid 2005; Augustinus & Dirix 2013)

## The data: morphological form of the progressive verb

- ▶ In Dutch MPPs, the **motion/posture** verb always has to appear in IPP-form, and can never appear as past participle

- (3)
- a. Ik heb **\*(gelopen)** / **lopen** te werken.  
I have walk.PTCP / walk.INF to work
  - b. Ik heb **\*(gezeten)** / **zitten** te werken.  
I have sit.PTCP / sit.INF to work
  - c. Ik heb **\*(gestaan)** / **staan** te werken.  
I have stand.PTCP / stand.INF to work
  - d. Ik heb **\*(gelegen)** / **liggen** te werken.  
I have lie.PTCP / lie.INF to work  
'I've been working.'

(Dutch)

## The data: morphological form of the progressive verb

- ▶ In Afrikaans MPPs, the **motion/posture** verb can either appear in IPP-form or as past participle

- (4)
- a. Ek het **geloop**/ **loop** en werk.  
I have walk.PTCP/ walk.INF to work
  - b. Ek het **gesit**/ **sit** en werk.  
I have sit.PTCP/ sit.INF to work
  - c. Ek het **gestaan**/ **staan** en werk.  
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  - d. Ek het **gelê**/ **lê** en werk.  
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(Afrikaans)

## The data: morphological form of the progressive verb

- ▶ IPP/no IPP-form of the progressive verb in Dutch MPPs

Verb	IPP-form	Past participle	Total
<i>Lopen</i> 'walk'	94 (100%)	0 (0%)	94 (100%)
<i>Zitten</i> 'sit'	928 (100%)	0 (0%)	928 (100%)
<i>Staan</i> 'stand'	123 (100%)	0 (0%)	123 (100%)
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Table 2: Morphological form of the progressive verb in Dutch MPPs

- ▶ In all Dutch MPPs, the progressive verb occurs in IPP-form

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- ▶ IPP/no IPP-form of the progressive verb in Afrikaans MPPs

Verb	IPP-form	Past participle	Total
<i>Loop</i> 'walk'	83 (74,8%)	28 (25,2%)	109 (100%)
<i>Sit</i> 'sit'	220 (48,4%)	235 (51,6%)	455 (100%)
<i>Staan</i> 'staan'	155 (44,8%)	191 (55,2%)	346 (100%)
<i>Lê</i> 'lie'	113 (45,4%)	136 (54,6%)	249 (100%)

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Table 3: Morphological form of the progressive verb in Afrikaans MPPs

- ▶ IPP is much more common with motion verb *loop* than with the *posture verbs* ( $p < 0.001$ )

The data: presence/absence of *te/en*



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- ▶ *Focus 2*: the presence/absence of *te* 'to' for Dutch and *en* 'and' for Afrikaans
- ▶ **Motion** verb MPPs in Dutch and Afrikaans have been reported to show high frequencies of *te/en*-drop, which has been said to be less frequent/ungrammatical in the **posture** verb counterparts (Haeseryn et al. 1997; Biberauer 2017)

## The data: presence/absence of *te/en*

(5) Ik heb in de schaduw **lopen** <sup>?</sup>(**te**) **wachten**.  
I have in the shade walk to wait  
'I've been waiting in the shade.'

(6) Ik heb in de schaduw **staan** (**te**) **wachten**.  
I have in the shade stand to wait  
'I've been waiting in the shade.'

(Dutch)

## The data: presence/absence of *te/en*

(7) Ek het in die skadu **loop** **(en)** wag.  
I have in the shade walk and wait  
'I've been waiting in the shade.'

(8) Ek het in die skadu **staan** **\*(en)** wag.  
I have in the shade stand and wait  
'I've been waiting in the shade.'

(Afrikaans)

## The data: presence/absence of *te/en*

- Presence/absence of *te* in Dutch MPPs

Verb	<i>Te</i> present	<i>Te</i> absent	Total
<i>Lopen</i> 'walk'	0 (0%)	94 (100%)	94 (100%)
<i>Zitten</i> 'sit'	8 (0,8%)	920 (99,2%)	928 (100%)
<i>Staan</i> 'stand'	13 (10,7%)	110 (89,4%)	123 (100%)
<i>Liggen</i> 'lie'	2 (0,9%)	212 (99,1%)	214 (100%)

Table 4: Presence/absence of *te* in Dutch MPPs

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Table 4: Presence/absence of *te* in Dutch MPPs

- ▶ No occurrences of *te* in *lopen* MPPs, few instances with *posture* verb MPPs

## The data: presence/absence of *te/en*

- ▶ Presence/absence of *en* in Afrikaans MPPs

Verb	<i>En</i> present	<i>En</i> absent	Total
<i>Loop</i> 'walk'	24 (21,6%)	85 (78,4%)	109 (100%)
<i>Sit</i> 'sit'	455 (100%)	0 (0%)	455 (100%)
<i>Staan</i> 'staan'	346 (100%)	0 (0%)	346 (100%)
<i>Lê</i> 'lie'	249 (100%)	0 (0%)	249 (100%)

Table 5: Presence/absence of *en* 'and' in Afrikaans PeriProgs

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Table 5: Presence/absence of *en* 'and' in Afrikaans PeriProgs

- ▶ We only find occurrences of *en*-drop with motion verb *loop*



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- ▶ *Presence/absence of te/en:*
  - ▶ In Dutch, all **motion** MPPs hits show *te*-drop, while there are some occurrences of *te* in **posture** MPPs
  - ▶ In Afrikaans, there are high occurrences of *en*-drop in **motion** MPPs, and no hits with **posture** MMPs

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# The morphological status of *ge-*

Dutch *ge-* is a regular verbal affix

- ▶ It is in complementary distribution with other verbal prefixes

*ge*-daan, *ver*-teld, \**ge*-*ver*-teld, \**ver*-*ge*-teld

# The morphological status of *ge-*

Dutch *ge-* is a regular verbal affix

- ▶ The sequence *ge-V* cannot be interrupted by a particle

af-**ge**-haald, \***ge**-af-haald

# The morphological status of *ge-*

Afrikaans *ge-* is a phrasal affix

- ▶ It is not in complementary distribution with other verbal prefixes; but can only appear to the left of the verbal prefix

*ge*-doen, *ver*-tel, *ge*-*ver*-tel, \**ver*-*ge*-tel

(Conradie 2012:12)

# The morphological status of *ge-*

Afrikaans *ge-* is a phrasal affix

- ▶ The sequence *ge-V* can be interrupted by a particle

af-**ge**-haal, **ge**-af-haal

(Prinsloo 2009:78)

# The morphological status of *ge-*

Afrikaans *ge-* is a phrasal affix

- ▶ Conradie (2012:12): **Afrikaans *ge-* is a phrasal affix**, with much more syntactic independence than Dutch *ge-*

# The semi-lexicality of Dutch/Afrikaans progressive verbs

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- ▶ Dutch and Afrikaans progressive verbs can still retain their lexical semantics, but their semantics seem also to be bleached (Haeseryn et al. 1997, Biberauer 2017, Breed 2017)

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- ▶ The **motion/posture** verbs in MPPs do not always entail a physical motion/seated/standing/lying position in MPPs
- ▶ They can sometimes even combine with a lexical verb incompatible with motion/postural position (Pots & Fraser, in prep)

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- ▶ Dutch and Afrikaans progressive verbs can still retain their lexical semantics, but their semantics seem also to be bleached (Haeseryn et al. 1997, Biberauer 2017, Breed 2017)
- ▶ The **motion/posture** verbs in MPPs do not always entail a physical motion/seated/standing/lying position in MPPs
- ▶ They can sometimes even combine with a lexical verb incompatible with motion/postural position (Pots & Fraser, in prep)
- ▶ Semantic bleaching is an indication of a shift from being lexical to being functional (Sweetser 1988)

# The semi-lexicity of Dutch/Afrikaans progressive verbs

## *Example physical motion entailed*

- (9) Het was een kudde herten die had **lopen grazen** in het  
It was a herd deer that had walk graze in the  
struikgewas aan de overkant.  
bushes on the other.side.  
'It was a herd of deer that had been grazing in the bushes  
on the other side.'

(Dutch, SoNaR+)

## The semi-lexicality of Dutch/Afrikaans progressive verbs

*Example lexical verb incompatible with physical motion*

- (10) Jammer dat ze in de show hadden **lopen knippen**,  
Pity that they in the show had walk cut,  
miste een aantal leuke stukken.  
missed a couple fun parts.  
'[It is] a pity that they've been cutting in the show, a  
couple of fun parts were missing.'

(Dutch, SoNaR+)

# The semi-lexicity of Dutch/Afrikaans progressive verbs

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## The semi-lexicity of Dutch/Afrikaans progressive verbs

- ▶ When a vocabulary item is semi-lexical, its functional use is often syntactically more restricted than its lexical use (De Belder 2011:102)
- ▶ For example, Dutch *stuk* 'piece' can be functional and lexical, but when it is used functionally, it cannot take a diminutive suffix

# The semi-lexicity of Dutch/Afrikaans progressive verbs

Lexical use of Dutch *stuk*:

- (11) a. Ik heb twee **stukken** van deze banaan gegeten.  
I have two pieces of this banana eaten  
'I've eaten two pieces of this banana.'
- b. Ik heb twee **stuk-je-s** van deze banaan gegeten.  
I have two pieces.DIM.PL of this banana eaten  
'I've eaten two small pieces of this banana.'

## The semi-lexicity of Dutch/Afrikaans progressive verbs

Functional use of Dutch *stuk*:

(12) Hoeveel bananen heb je gekocht?  
How.many bananas have you bought  
'How many bananas did you buy?'

(13) a. Ik heb twee **stuks** gekocht.  
I have two specimens bought  
'I've bought two specimens.'

b. \*Ik heb twee **stuk-je-s** gekocht.  
I have two specimens.DIM.PL bought  
Intended meaning: 'I've bought two small specimens  
of banana.'



## The semi-lexicity of Dutch/Afrikaans progressive verbs

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- ▶ Lexical *lopen* can be either embedded under temporal auxiliary *hebben* 'have', or under temporal auxiliary *zijn* 'be' when an endpoint/goal of the motion is indicated
- ▶ Progressive *lopen* can only be embedded under temporal auxiliary *hebben* 'have'

# The semi-lexicity of Dutch/Afrikaans progressive verbs

Lexical use of Dutch *lopen*

- (14) a. Ik **heb** dit weekend veel *gelopen*.  
I have this weekend a.lot walk.PTCP  
'I've walked a lot this weekend.'
- b. Ik **ben** dit weekend naar mijn oude huis  
I am this weekend to my old house  
*gelopen*.  
walk.PTCP  
'I've walked to my previous house this weekend.'

# The semi-lexicity of Dutch/Afrikaans progressive verbs

Progressive use of Dutch *lopen*

- (15) a. Ik **heb** dit weekend veel *lopen* bellen.  
I have this weekend a.lot walk.IPP call  
'I've been calling a lot this weekend.'
- b. \*Ik **ben** dit weekend veel *lopen* bellen.  
I am this weekend a.lot walk.IPP call  
Intended meaning: 'I've been calling a lot this weekend.'

# The semi-lexicity of Dutch/Afrikaans progressive verbs

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## The semi-lexicity of Dutch/Afrikaans progressive verbs

- ▶ Taken together, the semantic bleaching and the restricted syntactic behaviour of these items show that Dutch and Afrikaans **motion** and **posture** verbs are used functionally when they appear in MPPs
- ▶ They can still retain their lexical semantics, making Dutch and Afrikaans **motion** and **posture** verbs semi-lexical

## What it means to be semi-lexical

- ▶ I follow Klockmann (2017)'s approach to semi-lexicality, in which a semi-lexical item is defined as a root that is lexically specified for a syntactic feature



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- ▶ Semi-lexicality is often cited as the combination of lexical and functional properties in a single lexical item
- ▶ **Semi-lexicality is what occurs when a root is specified for a syntactic feature**

## Introduction

### Background: periphrastic progressives in Germanic

#### The data

- Corpora

- The data: morphological form of the progressive verb

- The data: presence/absence of te/en

#### Prerequisites for the analysis

- The morphological status of ge-

- The semi-lexicality of Dutch/Afrikaans progressive verbs

- What it means to be semi-lexical

#### The analysis

- Grammaticalisation path for MPPs

- Afrikaans MPPs

- Dutch MPPs

- The emergence of the (M)PP in Frisian

- Parallels in the nominal domain

#### Conclusion and outlook

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## Grammaticalisation path for MPPs

- ▶ Dutch and Afrikaans **motion** and **posture** verbs are semi-lexical
- ▶ I.e. they are roots that are specified for a syntactic feature
- ▶ Since they indicate progressive aspect of the lexical verb in MPPs, I propose this feature is a [Prog] feature

## Grammaticalisation path for MPPs

- ▶ The reanalysis of the **motion/posture** verbs is caused by the frequent coordination of these verbs with another verb, leading to bleaching of the semantics of these verbs (cf. Jespersen's Cycle-type developments, Biberauer p.c.)

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- ▶ The reanalysis of the **motion/posture** verbs is caused by the frequent coordination of these verbs with another verb, leading to bleaching of the semantics of these verbs (cf. Jespersen's Cycle-type developments, Biberauer p.c.)
- ▶ The semantic bleaching goes from the **motion/posture** verbs' lexical meaning to a more schematic, abstract meaning of iteration/duration, eventually leading to a progressive interpretation (cf. Sweetser 1988, Kuteva 1999)

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- ▶ This eventually leads to the language acquirer to postulate such a feature on that exact element (in our case, on the **motion/posture** verbs)

# Grammaticalisation path for MPPs

Proposed possible grammaticalisation path:

root  $\rightarrow$  root + [*u*F]  $\rightarrow$  [*i*F]

For Dutch/Afrikaans **motion/posture** verbs:

root  $\rightarrow$  root + [*u*Prog]  $\rightarrow$  [*i*Prog]



## Grammaticalisation path for MPPs

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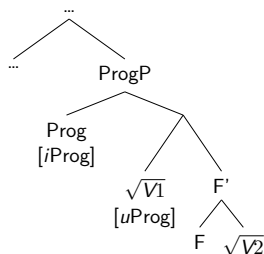
## Grammaticalisation path for MPPs

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- ▶ I.e. the **motion** verbs are further along on the grammaticalisation path compared to the **posture** verbs, of which the Afrikaans ones are the least far along this path

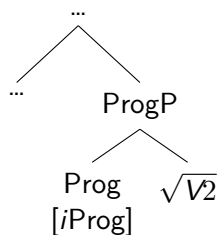
## Grammaticalisation path for MPPs

- ▶ *My proposal*: there are two different structures for MPPs, with the grammaticalisation path of the progressive verbs going from the structure in (16) to the structure in (17)

(16)



(17)



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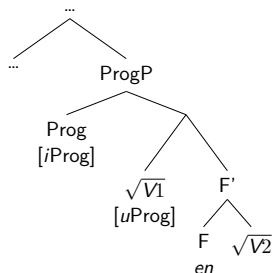
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- ▶ In Afrikaans, this position is filled by *en*, in Dutch by *te*, which semantics are close to vacuous (Broekhuis & Corver 2015)

# Afrikaans MPPs

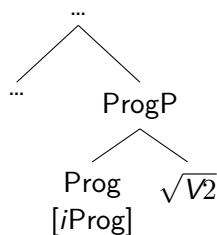
# Afrikaans MPPs

The two structures for Afrikaans MPPs:

(18)



(19)

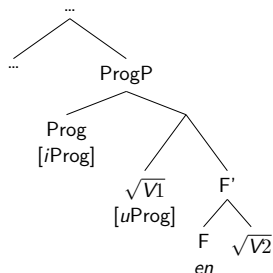


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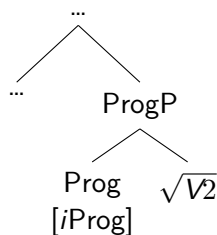
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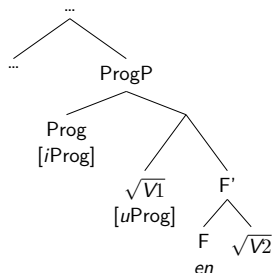


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- ▶ *Recall*: Afrikaans *ge-* is a phrasal verbal affix

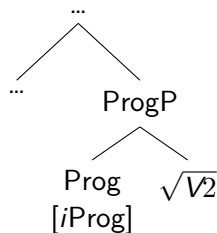
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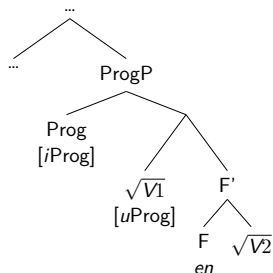


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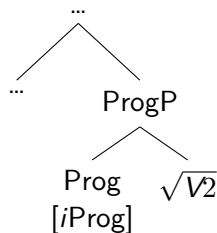
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- ▶ In the first structure, it can attach to the combined roots complex, in the second structure it cannot attach

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- ▶ *Recall*: Afrikaans *loop* is much more semantically bleached than the *posture* verbs
- ▶ Afrikaans *loop* is further along the grammaticalisation path from the first to the second structure compared to the *posture* verbs
- ▶ The fact that it shows much higher frequencies of *en*-drop and bare, IPP-form follows from it being close to only being able to have the latter structure, in which there is not F head (so no *en*), and in which *ge-* cannot attach to anything

## Afrikaans MPPs

- ▶ Afrikaans *loop* has also developed an andative interpretation

(20) Stel jou voor, dat elkeen vir hom een donkie  
Imagine you for, that everyone for himself a donkey  
**loop vang** het.  
walk catch have  
'Imagine, that everyone would go and catch a donkey of his  
own.' (Afrikaans, Korpusportaal)

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- ▶ *Loop* is thus grammaticalising to an even higher position in the functional sequence
- ▶ This illustrates how one element can grammaticalise in a layered fashion (cf. English 'have', Dutch 'hebben'; Hopper & Traugott 1993, Roberts & Roussou 2003, Wall 2018)

## Afrikaans MPPs

- ▶ In the present corpus data, andative *loop* almost always has *en*-drop

Aspect	<i>En</i> present	<i>En</i> absent	Total
Andative	3 (6,8%)	41 (93,2%)	44 (100%)
Progressive	13 (48,0%)	12 (52,0%)	25 (100%)
Unclear	9 (22,5%)	31 (77,5%)	40 (100%)
<i>Grant total</i>			<i>109 (100%)</i>

Table 6: Type of aspect combined with presence/absence of *en* in Afrikaans *loop* MPPs

## Afrikaans MPPs

- ▶ Similarly, in the present corpus data, andative *loop* almost always occurs in bare, IPP-form

Aspect	IPP-form	Past participle	Total
Andative	40 (90,9%)	4 (9,1%)	44 (100%)
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Table 7: Type of aspect combined with morphological form of *loop* MPPs

## Afrikaans MPPs

- ▶ The idea that Afrikaans andative *loop* has grammaticalised in a higher position in the functional sequence is supported by it being able to embed *posture* verbs:

(21) Sy het die maraton in rekordtyd **loop staan en**  
She have the marathon in record-time walk stand and  
**wen!**  
win  
'She went and won the marathon in record time!'

(Biberauer 2017: 4)

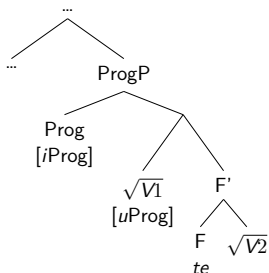
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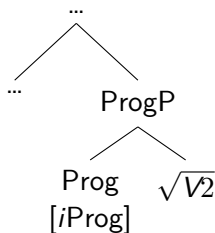
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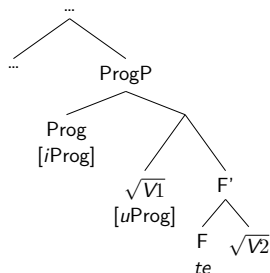


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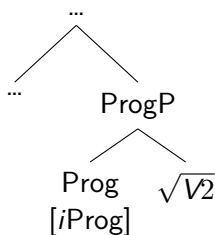
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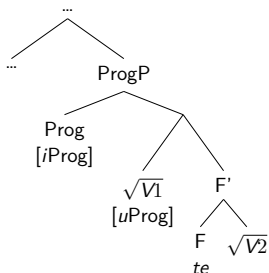


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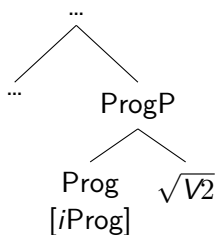
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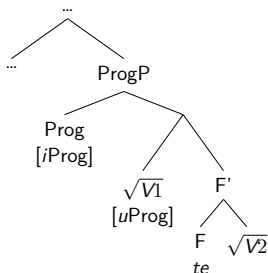


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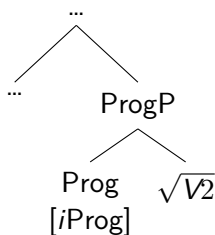
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- ▶ Dutch *ge-* thus cannot attach to either one of the structures (cf. Zwart (2016), Dros-Hendriks (2018))

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- ▶ The low occurrences of *te* with the Dutch *posture* verbs follows from them also being highly grammaticalised, i.e. often having the second structure
- ▶ Dutch *ge-* is not a phrasal affix, meaning it can never attach to any of the two structures: we find the bare, IPP-form across the board

## Dutch MPPs

- ▶ Note that *te*-drop also occurs in high frequencies with other Dutch verbs that are becoming more functional/modal, i.e. *hoeven* 'need' and *durven* 'dare' (Haeseryn et al. 1997; Pots 2017; Van de Velde 2017)

(24) Dat hij niet heeft **hoeven/ durven (te) komen**.  
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That he not has need/ dare to come.

'That he didn't need/dare to come.'

- ▶ These verbs used to always select a *te*-complement, but now show a rapid increase of selecting bare complements, while acquiring a more modal flavour

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- ▶ Both languages have three periphrastic progressive constructions ('busy with V', 'at the V' and the MPPs)
- ▶ A comparative study by Breed et al. (2017) has shown that in Dutch the MPP construction is used much more frequently than in Afrikaans

# The different degree of grammaticalisation in Dutch and Afrikaans

- ▶ This study shows that Dutch MPPs more grammaticalised than Afrikaans MPPs
- ▶ Both languages have three periphrastic progressive constructions ('busy with V', 'at the V' and the MPPs)
- ▶ A comparative study by Breed et al. (2017) has shown that in Dutch the MPP construction is used much more frequently than in Afrikaans
- ▶ More frequent use is beneficial for grammaticalisation, e.g. Dutch MPPs are more grammaticalised because it is a more common option compared to Afrikaans MPPs



# The emergence of the (M)PP in Frisian

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- ▶ Frisian only recently developed periphrastic progressives with **posture** verbs (Taalportaal 2018) (very marginally with motion verb *rinne* 'walk' (Hoekstra 1997))

(25) As er dêr sa yn 'e doar **stie te kjeldskypjen**.  
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- ▶ The **posture** verbs usually only select intransitive verbs of activity, i.e. lexical verbs with which it shares the same argument structure, and with it is compatible in semantics
- ▶ A very recent development is them also sporadically occurring with transitive lexical verbs (Taalportaal 2018)
- ▶ I.e. Frisian is a perfect case study on how MPPs can become grammaticalised (*future work*)

## The emergence of the (M)PP in Frisian

- ▶ Note furthermore that the Frisian MPP first developed in present tense context, and only sporadically occurs embedded under a temporal auxiliary, in which case *te* is always present

(26) En nei't se in skoftke tegearre op 'e bank **sitten**  
and after they a while together on the bench sat  
**hiene te praten.**  
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- ▶ This shows that for the **posture** verb is still 'on its way in' into the subcategory of restructuring verbs in Frisian

## Parallels in the nominal domain

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- ▶ Klockmann (2017: 337): there seem to be clear parallels between semi-lexicality in the verbal domain (i.e. cases of restructuring, cf. Wurmbrand 2004, on the difference between functional and lexical restructuring) and semi-lexicality in the nominal domain

## Parallels in the nominal domain

- (27) A lot/ton/bunch of books.
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- ▶ English quantificational nouns (Q-nouns) indicate quantity, like quantifiers and numerals
- ▶ Klockmann (2018) analyses these Q-nouns as semi-lexical roots

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(30) A ton/tons of students \*was/weren't studying.

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- ▶ Q-nouns cannot function as agreement targets when used in this quantifying way, despite appearing to be singular nouns; they can in their lexical use
- ▶ The Q-noun cannot serve as an intervener for Agreement or number sensitive processes: it lacks a number projection, this deficiency showing that it is semi-lexical



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- ▶ Similarly, we see that *of* is disappearing with 'a couple of X' in younger speakers of American English ('a couple X');
- ▶ and 'a dozen X' used to have *of* 'a dozen of X', usually not being permitted anymore in modern-day English (Klockmann 2017: 216)

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- ▶ One parallel between in semi-lexicality in the nominal and the verbal domain is thus a semantically vacuous element intervening when the semi-lexical item is still too much 'noun-/verb-like' (*of* for Q-nouns in English, *te/en* for progressive verbs in Dutch/Afrikaans)

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- ▶ Another parallel is the semi-lexical items (when more grammaticalised) taking the same form as the lower, actual noun/verb

## Parallels in the nominal domain

- (32) a. This kind/\*kinds of rabbit.  
b. This kinds/\*kind of rabbits.

- (33) a. This family of insects.  
b. This genre of films.

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- ▶ They need to have the same number marking as the lower, lexical noun



## Parallels in the nominal domain

- ▶ Similarly, Dutch progressive verbs have the same morphological form as the lower, lexical verb

- (34) a. Ik heb **\*(gelopen)** / **lopen** te werken.  
I have walk.PTCP / walk.INF to work.INF
- b. Ik heb **\*(gezeten)** / **zitten** te werken.  
I have sit.PTCP / sit.INF to work.INF
- c. Ik heb **\*(gestaan)** / **staan** te werken.  
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(Dutch)

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'I've been working.' (Dutch)

- ▶ Similar patterns are attested in other Germanic/Romance restructuring contexts (Cardinaletti & Giusti 2000, Den Dikken & Hoekstra 1997, Hinterhölzl 2009, Pots 2017, Salzmann to appear, Wiklund 2007, Wurmbrand 2012)

## Introduction

### Background: periphrastic progressives in Germanic

#### The data

- Corpora

- The data: morphological form of the progressive verb

- The data: presence/absence of te/en

#### Prerequisites for the analysis

- The morphological status of ge-

- The semi-lexicality of Dutch/Afrikaans progressive verbs

- What it means to be semi-lexical

#### The analysis

- Grammaticalisation path for MPPs

- Afrikaans MPPs

- Dutch MPPs

- The emergence of the (M)PP in Frisian

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  - ▶ The proposed grammaticalisation path goes from being a root with a [*uProg*] feature to being a [*iProg*] feature
  - ▶ The presence/absence of *te/en* and *ge-* (for Afrikaans) are indications of where the progressive verbs are on the grammaticalisation path

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- ▶ The apparent optionality (*te/en*-drop and IPP/bare form of the progressive verbs) is a side effect of these **motion/posture** verbs being semi-lexical items and being grammaticalised to different extents

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- ▶ Very similar patterns of semi-lexicity causing apparent optionality is attested in the nominal domain (Q-nouns and kind-words in English (Klockmann 2017; also showing this for Polish numerals))
- ▶ *Future work*: further investigating the parallels of semi-lexicity in the nominal and verbal domain

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